325 natives like to hiss rhythmically during the work; this gives them
461 greater strength, as they say. Regular whistling, however, is
191 strictly forbidden, for in the opinion of the natives it is something evil (see prefixes, page 28 /Ed., not translated/). In all this noise the medicine man takes a prominent part; every other moment he rings an iron bell, blows on an antelope horn, /232/ sings, shouts, and dashes about frantically. In short, he makes every possible effort to spur on the people, and perhaps he also means to fend off evil beings of one kind or another by his activities. Now and then he strikes between the bellows with a bundle
[824] of the Violacea Rinorea gracilipes Engl. or the Leguminosa Bandeiraea tenuiflora Benth. (both ovǒ̄n e ndžīk) (1) in order to

1. Called ovǒ̄n e ndžīk (ndžīk, "liana") because of the similarity of the leaves with those of the Copaifera tessmannii Harms. (ovǒ̄n), the tree in which the souls live in the intermediate realm; used when there is a shortage of Copaifera.

• [775]

eliminate all noxious influences through the power of the ancestors. If the zeal of the workers nevertheless flags, there follows a redoubled clamor, and after a short period of time the crew recuperates and pushes the hides with renewed vigor and almost convulsive rapidity amidst violent hissing and rhythmic rocking up and down of the upper part of the body. In the evening when they are tired, hide drums and wooden drums are called in to encourage them with a regular concert; songs are sung in which the medicine man strikes the keynote. At the end of the work, which in Bebai, for instance, lasted from one o'clock in the afternoon to 9:30 in the evening, the medicine man steps up to the furnace and by each bellows worker he makes a movement as though placing something up into the furnace and down into the funnel; his assistant walks behind him, carrying a closed medicine horn provided with a porcupine's tail. Its purpose is unknown.

821 there is a thunderstorm; actually,
"the rain is roaring."

mother, and, as a sign of a certain season, it is dependent upon the moon which, like all other celestial bodies, was assigned its course by the same primeval force. /197/

821 As we saw in the creation stories /Ed., not translated/, lightning also existed from the beginning (in the egg!). Later, 775 however, the souls subdued lightning, and they now use it for two different purposes. The first is to warn their descendants on earth of a threatening storm, that is, sheet lightning and atmospheric lightning (yŏ́yŏs IV Fang or fŏ́leyŏs IV Ntum). "There is lightning" is then expressed by fŏ́leyŏs a yŏ́s or fŏ́levŏs a lŭ́d, "the atmospheric lightning lights up," or "it passes by"; the root yŏs means "to open suddenly with a bang, to light up, to appear suddenly and disappear again." Secondly, the souls use lightning to strike down large trees that bar their view of the earth and the activities of human beings -- that is, lightning that strikes, zǎ́ɲ IV Ntum, zǎ́lǎn IV Fang, or zɛ́yǎ́ɲ IV. The fŏlevŏs is thought of as like the igniting of powder when it lights up briefly and suddenly; the zǎ́ɲ is like the firing of a rifle, and just as in the case of the latter, one says: ngɛ́ a kŏ́bo, "the rifle is talking," so in the case of the former, one says: zɛ́yǎ́ɲ a kŏ́bo, "the lightning rifle is speaking," that is, "it is thundering" (the cracking thunder accompanying lightning, in contrast to the distant rolling thunder of which we spoke above).

[195] Lightning that strikes is conceived as a black bullet that strikes the trees and splinters them. The "turd of the lightning" (abī'
[278] zɛ́yǎ́ɲ) -- this presumably refers to molten and conglomerated masses of resin -- is believed by the natives to have curative powers, as does the bark of trees struck by lightning.

Although the "lightning cartridge" is intended solely for purposes of blasting, it can also be dangerous for human beings if they happen to be in the neighborhood of the trees affected, and it is believed that death is caused by the tremendous roar. Hence it is advisable to withdraw into the house during thunder storms, because, by strict command of the souls, lightning is not allowed

821 to penetrate into houses. To be sure, this lightning is a disobedi-
775 ent fellow who has already caused his primeval mother Alonkok a great many difficulties, and he does not always heed the command of the souls. If it should happen at any time that in his willfulness he strikes the houses -- incidentally, I never heard of such a thing happening -- the natives do not assume that there was malice on the part of the souls. Possibly, as is only human, they aimed wrong. For this reason the Pangwe, who like all primitive people are quite apprehensive in other respects, are not afraid of thunder
[152] storms. A momentary fright, however, caused by the brightness of the lightning and the violence of the thunder, can very often be observed in the case of nervous temperaments.

There is only one more question: "Why is it that the souls make use of their 'lightning rifles' only when it rains; they could surely strike down the trees just as well without it?" To this my Pangwe has a ready answer: "It doesn't work so well, because rain and storms make a passage through the air for the lightning bolt, and then the souls have an easier time of it." /198/

Rain medicines are infrequent in the Pangwe region; rain does
789 not need to be summoned for there is enough of it -- God knows --
821 in tropical West Africa. They would sooner fend it off, for instance, during the drying of ngon, at cult festivals, sometimes during the harvest, and on journeys. For this reason, unnecessary beating of drums is avoided because it invites rain, in accordance with the view, which, incidentally, also prevails outside the Pangwe region, that (rumbling) thunder is produced by rain.

During the drying of ngon, women sometimes place an inverted pot covered with leaves on the village square. Next to it they plant a little stick with a plantain dyed red speared on it,
[824] and they perhaps plant a twig of Petersia minor Niedenzu (abiń) near it. The pot is supposed to represent the vessel in the sky in which the rain is enclosed (mvé, "pot," mvǒ-ṅ, "rain"). Covering the pot indicates that they wish to have the heavenly pot closed in the same manner. The plantain is a plant of the moon which determines the seasons and thus also the rain, and the red coloration is, as it were, a courtesy paid to the moon. I was unable to discover the relationship of the Petersia to rain, but in the

613 the same for the third grandson. The group of the sons' three families
614 constitutes what is called etuña or aval. The tribe (ayoñ) gives its name to all the families which have been established since its founder.

614 Social relations are rare with foreign tribes, the tribe forming a
609 homogeneous whole where the stranger is received only with reserve
578 and when he shows goods which prove that his visit has no other aim but to come and look for a woman to marry. The [92] tribes are often hostile to one another, and while they no longer can make war, this hostility is still demonstrated by an atmosphere of haggling which always forces the weakest to give way. Several tribes have thus had to leave the N'Djolé region to settle farther downstream on the Ogooué because they could no longer live beside their neighbors.

574 On the other hand, visits among members of one tribe are frequent, presents are exchanged, and wives are bought.

761 Death (awu). Death is regarded as a change of village. After his death, a person has become an inhabitant of the big village created
●715 by Nzame beyond the earth. There he will find the members of his family who already live there, and therefore he follows a very wide trail which leads him to the bank of the river Endam where his relatives who died before him come to await him. It may be that the crossing of the river is not immediate, and the dead man may have to stay for several days on the bank, which happens especially to people of whom the bivur have made human victims.

763 The dying person (edzeġela) is attended by women who, when death has occurred, announce it on coming out of the hut, where all the inhabitants of the village then assemble. The corpse is taken from its bed and laid on the ground on mats; it is washed, rubbed with oil, and clothed in a white loincloth, then rolled in the mats and in pieces of bark, and tied. It stays this way in the hut until the grave is dug.

764 Funeral ceremonies immediately follow death. The wrapped body is carried by two men to the place of burial. The inhabitants of the village follow, one behind the other, and are present at the interment, which is done with a vine holding the body so that it does not fall suddenly to the bottom of the hole dug to receive it. The grave is oriented east-west, or is dug parallel to the course of the river which flows by the village, the head of the dead being placed upstream or to the east, the feet downstream or toward the west, so that the dead will lie in the direction of the river Endam. Before the grave is filled,

164 there are placed in it the arms or some everyday objects of the deceased. Then everyone goes back to the village, the women crying. The close relatives of the deceased go into mourning, which is much stricter for a woman than for a man; we have already seen what comprises the mourning of a widow. As for the widower, after having
765 stayed for two or three days in a state of prostration, often simulated, he continues to look after his work as usual, remaining meanwhile under the obligation to stay dirty until the celebrations at the end of mourning.

763 The autopsy of the corpse to find the evur is done at the edge of the grave, after the women have been sent away. The package containing [93] the corpse is undone and the practitioner operates with a large knife made especially for this purpose. He has previously painted his face half black, half red so that the deceased will not recognize him and cannot come from his abode in the village of Nzame to avenge himself for the mutilation he is undergoing. When the operation is finished, the corpse is sewed up, re-wrapped, and placed normally in the grave.

764 There is no cemetery, and the dead are buried a short distance from the village, almost behind the huts. Sometimes when a person is thought to have died from having been eaten by the bivur, in order that the grave may not be violated for the purpose of removing a piece of the corpse, it is buried in the very hut of the head of the family.

765 The life of the dead in the village of Nzame is identical with that which they had at home; they do the same work, have the same entertainments, marry, procreate, always stay young, and also have the power to do whatever they wish; it is enough for them to express a wish for it to be granted.

The dead sometimes leave their abode to return to the earth, perhaps in the form of phantoms with long hair to frighten the living, meeting a phantom being fatal, or perhaps in the shape of animals in order to avenge themselves. Some may change themselves into an elephant and ravage the fields of their enemies; others change into a panther and kill all the livestock and poultry and sometimes even the inhabitants of the village where they were unhappy in life. When they
[787] wish to be beneficent, they appear in the dreams of their relatives and friends and give them wise advice.

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825 Sometimes a dead person who was not sufficiently mourned has on account of this been unable to find the route to the river Endam, and he comes back in the shape of a black antelope to get himself killed so as to die a second time and be sure to arrive at the village of the dead.

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829 Europeans, on account of their pale look, their long, smooth hair, and above all because of the material goods they have brought, are still regarded as dead Pahouin who have returned to their country, and the fear of the children who rush to hide from the sight of a white man in many villages is due to the legends told by the old people who thus describe us.

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superhuman heroes, who include not only their ancestors but also the earliest well-known Europeans: Ngôtô Zambe (Rev. Good), Mendômô (Hauptmann von Hagen), Akôk (Marius Pascalet), etc., thus are found to be naturalized as it were and incorporated into tradition.

Driven out of this country by red giants (or by a red giant), the ancestors, fleeing to save their lives, were brought to a standstill at the Sanaga, incapable of crossing it until the intervention of the guardian of the waters, a python according to Beti and Boulou, a crocodile according to /16/ the Fang (1). By stretching himself across

1. Bertaut gives the names as mot yom and nga medja or ngan meja. Discounting a mistake in transcription, these expressions could mean "a being to be supplicated," "crocodile to be supplicated," from môt (Fang, môr, mur) = person; ngan = crocodile; ja'é (Boulou) dzak, dzaghé (Ewondo, Fang) = to ask, to supplicate; yom = to beg, to implore.

the river this animal formed a bridge which the ancestors crossed family by family, in order of primogeniture, until the moment when a child (or woman) wounded the animal's back by letting fall a weapon (or a torch). The animal dived below, abandoning on the right bank the Beti group that is still there today.

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Osoe Nnanga, whence Europeans have derived "Sanaga," means "white river" or "river of the albino." White is the color of death; ghosts (bekôn) are white; albinos are thought to be offspring of incubi. Lastly, the land of the dead has always been situated in the west, toward the sea (mañ), even though the Pahouin could not have known the sea except by hearsay. Considered in connection with some of the legends collected by Trilles, these facts may lead us to think that the Pahouin in crossing the Sanaga were entering, at least symbolically, the land of the dead.

When they had reached the left bank, they found their road blocked by an impenetrable forest, with the single path obstructed by an

of his descendants, in whose person he will be repeated rather than reembodied. It should be remembered that jòé also means "authority," a notion that cannot be dissociated from that of name.

The cessation of vital functions, awu (from wu, to die), is not thought of as necessarily final: catalepsy, deep coma, anaesthesia, and real death are confused. It is evident that if the body is hurt during awu, a revival is impossible. A ghost, kôn (Fang, khun), is not necessarily physically dead: one of the most feared forms of sorcery, at which the Ndôñ are reputed to be particularly expert, consists of separating a person from his nsisim, shade or double, by giving him the appearance of physical death, then in awakening the body which will thereafter automatically obey the sorcerer's orders and may be used by him for all sorts of ends, to go kill or steal, or, more prosaically, to work his plantations. Persons thus transformed into bekôn are recognized by their pallor, jerky movements, and haggard expression; they survive the experience /operation/ for only a few months before dying in great physical and moral agony (1).

1. I have reason—but no proof—to believe that this is more than a myth: perhaps the criminal use of a narcotic producing effects similar to those of Pentothal. A kôn, frightful to see, died at the Sangmélima dispensary in 1947. The judicial inquiry revealed nothing.

Death in the complete sense does not occur for some time after the cessation of vital functions, and funeral rites seem to have had the purpose of detaching the individual from his mortal shell. There were two abodes of the dead. The bemie, those unblemished by ngbwel (sorcery by évu), crossed the river-of-the-west or the sea to go to the village of Zâmbe (Zobeyo, Nzame) in a cold country where their nsisim led a life rather like that in a terrestrial village where everything goes well (2). The beyem went down to érôtôlan, the

2. According to Trilles, this would have been Venus, otya alu, "the night's torch."

775 subterranean abode of the dead, where they were the prey of flames. A tradition reported by Largeau tells of the dead man arriving at the bridge over the river-of-the-west to meet there the judges, Oyem-Bôt (He-Who-Knows-Men) and Oka'Bot (He-Who-Divides-Men /Repartit-les-Homme/), who question him and allow him to cross the bridge leading to Mon-Anen (Great Being), who questions him in the presence of the dead and makes sure that he has "left his name" (that he has forgotten it in the land of the living). He is then turned over to the Divider-of-Men /Partageur-des-Hommes/, who cuts him in two, one half staying among the living, while the other, having been given a new name, goes to the dead. It is difficult to decide what precise part of the person remains with his descendants; in my view it is name-authority; in any case I do not believe it to be the nsisim. It might be the kôn but, in such a case, the result of an accident, for a ghost is a disturbing neighbor, if not a dangerous one, in any case very fearsome, often malevolent. Its appearance is that of a living [143] person, except that it is white /106/, whence the belief that albinos are the children of ghosts. The nsisim, on the other hand, who can turn up during a person's lifetime in a place distant from where he is (witches' and sorcerers' power of bilocation), is immaterial but absolutely identical in appearance with the body. The kôn might be the ghost of a person whose funeral rites had not been correctly performed, of an imperfectly exorcised sorcerer or, if one wishes, one imperfectly sterilized (for instance, if the corpse had not been burned), or even of a person who died without being purified of a nsem (1).

1. Among the Ewôndo, the dead who have not yet crossed the bridge leading to ésam nzigi, the abode of the dead, are called ngudu. (J. B.)

775 825 It also may happen that a dead man becomes embodied in a wild animal living near a village, and that, henceforth, "cannot" be killed. I have not been able to find out exactly whether this is a matter of actual impossibility or of a respect taboo. The animal may be benevolent, like the old gorilla, a former Mvaé chief, who protected the Nyabisañ village gardens against the depredations of "real" gorillas in 1948, or, on the contrary, malevolent, like one Zaman, turned panther, who ravaged his affinal family's flocks in the Boucle

775 825 du Dja region during the same period. This incarnation is probably related to the totemism or the alliance between a man and an animal élañela, which Trilles discusses at length (no. 166). The incarnation is only temporary and ends at the death or disappearance of the animal.

775 787 As a result of mission influence, niam bekon, the land of the dead, is now divided into heaven and hell, which are none other than Zambe's village and éñôlan. Souls in purgatory seem to be confused in village minds with dissatisfied bekôn, who are always disturbing. The notion of natural death, brought about neither by sorcery nor by breaking a prohibition, has not developed at all: after all, "the wages of sin is death," and "sin" has been rendered as nsem in translations of the Scriptures. Therefore the dead continue to belong to society, even though the decline of the ancestor cult, the biéti, and of the initiations with a probable totemic character like sô, have weakened their bonds with the living.

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775 762 This belief in survival perhaps explains a certain scorn of death, which is indicated not only by bravery in war and the suicides of the old, but also suicides for the sake of a point of honor: a woman kills herself in order to take revenge on her husband, a man because he considers himself offended or injured. The "one responsible" for such a suicide is severely judged by public opinion, and must pay compensation and make an expiratory sacrifice.

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3. Religion and Magic

797 Aside from a few old people who are known as "children of the old ways" (or "of the old knowledge"), bo' biyem bi nnom, and who are treated as pagans by their children, and, even more uncommon, a few /107/ young people who declare themselves to be agnostics, the great majority if not the mass of contemporary Pahouin claim to be attached to one of the sects that has done evangelical work in the region: French or American Presbyterian, /Roman/ Catholic, /Seventh Day/ Adventist. In fact, and with no intention of arguing over the statistics that give proportions of 105 percent "Christian" in certain districts, the influence of Christianity is indeed considerable, but it is tinged with animist survivals and revivals to an extent and in ways that only a great deal of detailed research could present accurately.

also discriminates between the ésayoñ, ancestor cult /112/, and the mvamayoñ, totemic cult. It must be admitted that there is now no chance of obtaining a cross-checking of his theories except on points of detail, although that is no formal condemnation of his theories; it is the consequence of a shortage of researchers, lack of respect on the part of the researchers, or loss of traditions of initiation. The following points may be considered as established:

mvam (émvam) connotes ideas of a forefather, dead or alive, lineal and protective.

akam, protection, is sometimes used in speaking of animals, to indicate the reason for a prohibition; the verb kam having a defending-protecting meaning as well as that of forbidding-prohibiting.

All prohibitions are not tied up with these notions, but some are and they may well be individual prohibitions as well as hereditary collective ones, not necessarily involving animals.

Clan markings, mindem, and tattoo marks, mindan, are often connected with a prohibition.

There is a whole system of animal symbolism, evident particularly in tales and augury ("zoomancy," divination by spiders).

Certain animals are connected with initiation cults: very definitely the sô and snakes (dendraspis and python); probably the porcupine and tortoise (with feminine rites); perhaps the gorilla (njil; ngil, Johnson's tone 4, the ngil rite having tone 5).

There does not appear to be any connection between an animal name borne by a person (Mvômô • Python, Zo'o • Elephant, Ze • Panther, etc.) and the prohibitions he is subject to.

Moreover, the following, it seems pretty certain, are not specifically related to totemism:

Alliance, élat or ngbwa, between a person and a particular animal.

A sorcerer's employing an animal, nkuk (observe that nkuk also means "mask") to carry out his sorcery at a distance.

The incarnation of a sorcerer in the body of an animal, élañe la (Trilles applies this name to the nkuk).

The temporary incarnation of a dead man in an animal's body.

The first three phenomena often seem to be confused in the minds of present-day Pahouin, and the fourth may be the consequence of this.

It is curious that the legend recounted by Trilles about the crocodile, which he considers to be the "national totem," represents

773 the animal pursuing the ancestors of the Fang in order to devour them, while the legendary history of migration collected in the north shows, on the contrary, the crocodile enabling the tribe to cross the Osoé Nnanga (the python performs this service for the Beti).

776 The observation made by the authors quoted on the "unsuperstitious" character of the Pahouin and of the slight development /113/ of "fetishism" among them is to be related to the almost total absence in their mythology of beings intermediary between God and man, genii or demigods.

774 825 Aside from the bivur, to be discussed in connection with sorcery, there are only the bingungur (Fang) (Boulou, bingôngôt) shown in some legends as kinds of ogres or ghouls haunting forests and attacking travelers. According to another interpretation, these rather are evil animals endowed with intelligence and malevolence beyond that of normal members of their species, perhaps animal sorcerers. The inoffensive aardvark, mvômesila, is thus very much feared; also a sort of very rare Pithecanthropus (Fang, éngure; Boulou, éngu'u) and a mermaid, the mammywôta of the coast, no doubt a lamantin /or manatee/. For Trilles, the éngungure is a "spirit, often transformed into an animal, which sorcers obey"; may there not be a confusion here with the évur (Boulou, évu)?

● 775 769 As for ghosts, bekôn, it might be said that there are good ones but no nice ones. One may usually get on with the kôn of a properly buried forebear who was respected in his lifetime and even obtain useful services from him, formerly paid for by sacrifices and libations to his skull and often today by candles, Masses, or prayers (I have known Protestants to go to Catholic missionaries for exorcism). There is more difficulty /in dealing/ with the kôn of a sorcerer or with that of a stranger neither whose name nor whose skull is in one's possession.

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266 Lawful /non criminelle/ anthropophagy probably had for an end, among others, that of acquiring power over the bekôn of enemies and perhaps of assimilating the rights they derived from their ancestors. This wartime cannibalism appears to have existed especially on the geographical fringes of the group and particularly along the invasion front, among the Fang proper, the vanguard of the migration. A relative or affinal kin was never eaten, only strangers, and these only by warriors (or sometimes by sons of warriors killed by the enemy). It is worth noting that for the cannibalism of the Fang and Osyéba only the "Gabonese" felt the terror described by all explorers. The

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

776 ideas as the Bulu regarding two great gods. The *Zambe* of the Bulu is the *Anyambi* or *Sekôme* of the Fang, the *tata* or father of all things; and another god of less power than *Anyambi* or *Sekôme*, who lives in the forests and is so tall that he gathers fruit from the highest trees. Some of the old men and women profess to have seen this god of the forests.

●[775] Fang superstition includes transmigration; a departed human soul may enter any animal dwelling on top of the earth or in it. There are spirits of health and disease, also a protecting spirit belonging to a clan or tribe, in whose honour a small basket is hung in the palaver house, containing portions of the skull of an albino, whenever obtainable, also portions of the skulls of a relative and a chimpanzee, human hair, nails and bones. This fetish or *biang* is called the *Biang Akamayong*. Most Fang have a cabalistic word assigned to them by the *ngangan* (witch doctor), and this word is used as a prayer. During the new moon, dances are nearly always indulged in, and the songs usually addressed to the spirits of Present and Future. Local spirits need constant propitiation; a native passing in his canoe a spot where a local spirit dwells, as a large rock, will pay his respects by casting a piece of his food into the river, or when in the forest a few stones or a piece of *mbôn* (cassava) is laid at the root of some great tree.

Wooden idols are not plentiful among the Fang tribes living along the rivers; they are seen more in the palaver houses of the bush towns.

Charms.—These may be only cabalistic words, and under this head of vocal charms must be included the incantations of the *ngangan* (witch doctor).

Material charms.—These are by far the most common; the belief in material charms, fetish, occupies the most prominent place in Fang religious contemplation.

Among the Fang, the English word Fetish, from the Portuguese word Feticio, is *Biang* (medicine). A Fang fetish is any material object which the *ngangan* (doctor) has consecrated and made a fit abiding place for a spirit. What may be consecrated? Anything, absolutely anything; a shell, rag, stone, twig of a tree, horns, nails, etc. The horns of small antelope and large deer are filled with resins, nails, human hair, faeces, etc. To bewitch a person it is necessary to give the *ngangan* a piece of the hair, nail, a portion of the food or a drop of blood of the person to be bewitched. A Fang is most careful if he cuts himself to see that only friends and relations approach him until the bleeding has ceased, and hair when cut is usually burnt without delay. As mentioned in the section of this paper on food, every child during infancy is subjected to certain rites which constitute his or her *Eki*, prohibiting the child from eating a certain kind of food or performing a certain act. Thus far, the superstitious beliefs of the Fang and Bulu are precisely similar, and I gathered from Dr. Nassau at Gaboon many facts connected with the people among whom he laboured, the Mpongwe, which showed that they also held superstitious beliefs very nearly, and in some cases precisely similar to those of the Bulu and Fang, the only difference being in the

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

name, the *Eki* of the Fang being the *Orunda* of the Mpongwe. One day when on a journey among the people, I asked an old headman to share with me a chicken my boy had prepared for supper; the old man seemed pleased at my invitation, but asked the boy if it was a hen or cock fowl. Upon being informed that it was a cock, he declined to eat any of it: that was his *Eki*. As previously stated, I do not believe the natives worship the spirits of Present and Future, but to a certain degree ancestral worship does exist. A Fang places the skull of his father in a curious receptacle of bark, worshipping it, killing fowls and making blood offerings to it, and in many ways the whole matter somewhat resembles the worshipping at graves and before ancestral tablets as practised in China. The natives often pray to their father's skull before talking a large war palaver, or the purchase of a new woman. As worshipping departed ancestors is the chief duty of a faithful Chinaman, so making offerings and prayers to the departed father's spirit before the skull constitutes the great Fang fetish, or *bieti*. Wooden idols, *biyeme*, of men and women are made in a manner which makes the sex extremely apparent; yet whenever I have seen these figures in towns, the people did not seem to regard them as obscene, but as truthful representations of the sexes. I feel sure that to some extent, at least, phallic worship is practised among the Fang. Spirits are everywhere; in rocks, trees, forests, and streams; in fact, for the Fang, this life is one continual fight against spirits corporal and spiritual.

A peculiar belief regarding dreams is that when a person sleeps the soul often wanders away, and its experiences on these journeys are made known to the sleeper by dreams. After death the soul may inhabit any kind of animal.

Fetish Biang (medicine).—Fetish means anything; leopard teeth, human finger nails, hair, wood, iron, herbs. The article used as *biang* or fetish, has no intrinsic value, it is only valued because of connecting its owner with a spirit which can aid him. The leopard tooth fetish is supposed to impart the bravery of the leopard to its owner. Fetish is a spirit or combination of spirits manifested in material things.

Dili Mkuk.—To murder a person and save his skull as a fetish, or use the skull as medicine to bring women, guns, goats or goods. The people will make offerings to the skulls calling them by the names of persons killed. It is said that these prayers are always answered as desired.

Biang e Soli (hiding medicine).—A man goes and takes leaves of trees, and cuts them up. He says, "I have cut up leaves of trees" (or high grass, bushes). The women shell gourd seeds and mash them. They catch a fowl, kill it, and put it in the pot. They also put in the pot the medicine leaves, and the mashed gourd kernels. They put the pot on the fire, and boil (its contents). When they have boiled it, the medicine is cooked. They take the medicine pot off (the fire). They go and put it by the side of (*afuâ*) the back of the *bieti*. The man who has put it there says to the *bieti*, other people want to kill me. He takes away the medicine pot. He opens the *bieti* basket. He takes a small piece of the bone (instead of this say to the woman and children he takes the excrement of the